20c APRIL 30, 1951

New Republic

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AN EDITORIAL

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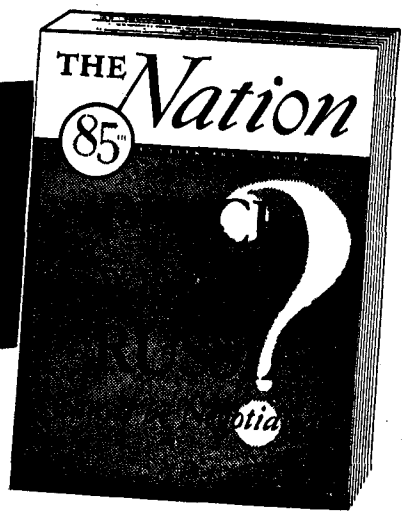

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New Republic

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EDITOR: Michael Straight
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane
ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Helen Fuller
ASSISTANT EDITOR: Elizabeth Huling
REPORTER: Jean Begeman
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Harold L. Ickes, Joseph P. Lash, Max Lerner, James R. Newman, Gus Tyler
DEPARTMENTS: Robert Hatch (Chief), Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio and Television), Harold Clurman (Theatre), Lincoln Kirstein (Fine Arts)
COPY ASSISTANTS: Marjorie Stanley, Lucille Davis

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WASHINGTON WIRE

NOW COMES the struggle for men's minds. The weapons are unconventional. An insubordinate general manipulates a hero's welcome to his own ends amid ticker tape storms in skyscraper canyons; a stubborn little President (who is booed at the ball park) shrewdly "leaks" out the facts of the Wake Island agreement that puncture the general's case. The world looks on in awe: Is this American turbulence a tidal current, or just a big bubble on the surface? A gust of hysterical partisanship could push the nation over and start the atom bombs dropping around the globe! Is that the prospect? We don't think so. Unlike the florid July fourth orators who say "Trust the people!" and then pass the 22nd constitutional amendment limiting the people's right to pick their own President, we have always had a profound belief in the basic common sense of America. Maybe we are wrong, but we think we detect signs of that clean, sanitary, healing common sense asserting itself already. You can help it along, if you care to, by a letter to your Congressman.

We watched MacArthur address Congress. Radio and television are all right, but you had to be there to feel and understand the intensification of partisan bitterness going on before your eyes. The emotionalism was such that Congressmen, particularly Republican House members, behaved like children, as they stamped and yelled. To them it must have seemed that at last they had *a voice* —sonorous, deep, flexible and dramatic. Subconsciously they were saying to themselves: "Roosevelt, where are you now?"

Right in the well of the great chamber, stabbed with spotlights and directly below MacArthur's platform, sat a ring of high Army officers who had served overseas with the General. They were starred and braided in glittering fashion, and one admiral among them had gilt that seemed to come up to his shoulders. What will always abide with us as a supreme example of how innocent and naive we are was the discovery, as we looked down during MacArthur's harpsichord peroration that "old soldiers never die," that one of these grizzled warriors was having trouble with his eyes. We say this in all simplicity, and as a rueful confession, that at first we looked blankly down; then as we surveyed the ring we observed that, by cracky, all were having eye trouble! It illustrated to us the profound truth that words that make one man weep may merely give another man indigestion. We have no criticism to make of anyone except of ourself. The convention that men do not shed tears has always seemed to us particularly silly. The sight of that semi-circle of weeping generals, and the admiral unaffectedly swabbing his cheeks, will always be to us a warning of our own limitations.

Why is Congress held in low repute by the public? Because it holds its own reputation low. That, in essence, is the summary of the new book, *Congress—Corruption and Compromise*, written by Princeton professor H. H. Wilson, published by Rinehart. Wilson takes the case histories of a score of Congressmen who have transgressed proprieties and shows with what outrageous leniency their fellows treated them in most instances. The worst case was that of Rep. Eugene Cox, still a member from Georgia, who in 1943 was actually made chairman of a subcommittee to investigate the very agency which offered evidence that he had violated the criminal code by accepting a $2,500 retainer fee from a radio station. The House did not punish Cox—he was and is a member of the all-powerful Rules Committee; instead the House slashed the funds of the Federal Communications Commis-

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sion, which had brought the charges, by 25 percent.

As to the larger failure of Congress, Professor Wilson traces it primarily to a basic situation, the imposition upon national life of the code of business materialism: "Probably no other community," he says, "was ever so completely dominated by the goals, ethics and values of one class as has been the US by those of the business class."

Arthur Vandenberg won power and fame not because he stuck to his views but because at a crisis he changed them. He started as an isolationist, ended as an internationalist, and carried the middle-road members of his party with him. He acted as a broker between the GOP and the facts of life. No admirer can miss the drama of his passing or the loss to his country at a time when leaders like Taft and Wherry are whooping it up for Asia-over-Europe.

Notes: The thing restraining the Joint Chiefs of Staff from massive military committal in China is less fear of Soviet intervention than fear of Soviet *aloofness:* While we committed our own narrow balance of military superiority in China, Moscow, by keeping clear, might capture global dominance. . . . Quotes that make the week a happy one: "Don't scuttle the Pacific," Douglas MacArthur; when asked if the vote to set up the new wage stabilization board (over industry opposition) had been "unanimous," AFL President Green responded: "Oh yes; there were only four dissenting votes." . . . Almost unnoticed, Truman's tentative promulgation of the new Pacific defense pact would rank with the issuance of the Atlantic Pact and the Monroe Doctrine as expressions of national policy. . . . As a retired, five-star general, free to attack the President, MacArthur draws $18,716 a year as long as he lives. . . . Old soldiers never die. . . . Don't forget that every move of the GOP closer to Mac brings the Democrats closer to Ike. . . . A new Democratic Senator from Michigan succeeding Vandenberg bumps Wisconsin's Joe McCarthy off the Appropriations Committee handling State Department funds.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Russell's Ends and Means

SIR: This reader wants to dissent from and protest against the reference by your reviewer, James R. Newman (the *NR*, March 26), to Bertrand Russell's observation on Buchenwald and the Siberian labor camps as "one of the few sensible things ever expressed on the barren problem of means vs. ends."

Since all I have to go on is the sentence (or perhaps only part of a sentence) that Newman cited, perhaps I am disturbed less by Russell than by Newman and the responsible member of your staff who passed the review.

According to Newman, Russell has written, "It is not worthwhile to inflict a comparatively certain present evil for the sake of a comparatively doubtful future good." This is the "main objection," quoting Newman, to Buchenwald and the Russian labor camps, and not "their cruelty" (Newman again). . . . I should imagine that people like you would be revolted by the phrase, "a comparatively certain present evil," as a characterization of Buchenwald and the Russian camps. But since Newman saw fit to cite it with approval and your staff saw fit to send it to the printer, what, may I ask, do you consider a certainly certain evil? And if you entertain only comparative doubts about the "future good" that a police state has in mind, what does it take to make you doubt it entirely?

New York City S. M. SMITH

SIR: Mr. Smith seems to have misunderstood entirely what Russell wrote and my comment on it. One must distinguish between the humanitarian and the logical argument. Both have merit; the second, however, is more appropriate and compelling because the first so often leaves one stranded in a *cul de sac*. The Russians defend their tyrannies on the ground that large benefits will result from them in the long run; we defend the use of atom bombs and plan for greater horrors on the ground that they are needed to preserve freedom and human dignity. There is little to choose, it seems to me, between the immorality of either contention. Yet how much more telling it is to show, not that the means are immoral, but that it is uncertain, even unlikely, that they will achieve the desired end. It is not a law of nature that good intentions assure good results. All the hocus-pocus about the end *justifying* the means results from the failure to recognize this. The question is not whether you sincerely believe in your cause, but whether what you are doing will help it. If the answer to the second question is no, the answer to the first becomes immaterial. Russell makes the issue clear.

I would add that even in the Age of the Oath, it should not be required of Russell or the *New Republic* formally to avow disapproval of cruelty. The position on that issue is also clear.

Washington, D. C. JAMES R. NEWMAN

"A Fine Job"

SIR: Hats off to the *New Republic* for the current issue featuring "Spotlight on Mobilization."

It's a fine job from the cover right straight through and very, very much needed at this historic moment . . . and also is in keeping with the great tradition of American liberal journalism to which the *NR* and so very few other publications courageously cling.

Congratulations!

New York City NELSON BENGSTON

Campaign Expenditures

SIR: The article by Jean Begeman entitled "Million $ Senators" (*NR*, April 9) . . . is a contribution of public enlightment on a question that has been disturbing me very greatly and for which we hope, in the subcommittee, to find at least partial answers.

SEN. GUY M. GILLETTE,
Chairman, Subcommittee on
Privileges and Elections

Washington, D. C.

Bulwark of Strength

SIR: How greatly I appreciate your valued publication. The *New Republic* is a bulwark of strength to all free institutions in this country. You are appreciated. Keep up the good work!

CHARLES L. MCGOVERN
Rector, The Church
Tryon, N. C. of the Holy Cross

The Laski Scholarship

SIR: The National Executive Committee of the Labour Party has decided to launch an appeal for funds to raise a capital sum the income from which is hoped to be sufficient to maintain an annual traveling scholarship to commemorate the work of Harold Laski for international socialism. The address is Transport House, Smith Square, London SW1, England.

MORGAN PHILLIPS
Secretary, The Labour Party

London, Eng.

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VOLUME 124, NUMBER 18, ISSUE 1900, WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 30, 1951

New Republic

THE CHOICE IN KOREA

GENERAL MACARTHUR and those who support his policy of extending the war in Asia are obscuring the purposes for which we entered Korea and misrepresenting the facts about the alternatives that are open to us for the future. The MacArthurites are contriving to limit the coming debate on American foreign policy to a choice between two equally disastrous courses: full-scale war against China or complete withdrawal from Korea.

MacArthur and Senator Taft hold out the illusory prospect of a quick conquest of China at small cost to us. Sen. Harry Cain (R, Wash.), who has introduced a resolution to pull out of Korea altogether, dangles the short-term lure of isolation. From the other side comes the repeated hope of concluding the war by an immediate negotiated peace with China.

Deliberately to extend the present war beyond Korea would be to violate the directive from the United Nations under which we, as the agent of the UN, are fighting. Such an action would lose us all our present allies and place upon us the sole responsibility in the event that a worldwide war were to result.

To pull out of Korea altogether would, among other things, destroy the faith of small nations in our friendship and begin a stampede of such countries to the Communist side.

An immediate negotiated peace with China seems a far from realistic possibility in view of the strong new offensive which has been launched by the Chinese in Korea.

The only course now open to us, consistent with the objectives of the UN and the US, is to stay and fight in Korea, in no way inviting the widening of the war, and always continuing our offer of peace to the aggressors on UN terms. These terms remain, as issued last January, that the Chinese and North Koreans agree to a cease-fire order, to be followed by the withdrawal of all non-Korean troops by stages. Negotiations for a general Far Eastern settlement would wait on the agreement to cease fire. The Chinese Communists appear far from ready to accept these terms now. The great, new land drive that has been launched in North Korea will have to be thrown back before the Chinese Communists are likely to become any more willing to seek a truce.

There is no such easy and painless way out of our obligation to restore peace in Korea as MacArthur and Taft are claiming. There is, however, a hard and honorable way still open—a way which the MacArthurites would have us believe does not exist.

Numbers of competent military men believe that MacArthur is unduly pessimistic in stating that a stalemate is the most to be hoped for in Korea. Our top military leaders do not agree, as will be brought out in the hearings to be held before the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees soon, that there must be new political decisions before there can be victory in Korea. It has become increasingly clear since MacArthur arrived back in this country that he is single-mindedly intent on alibiing his own military failure in the conduct of the Korean campaign.

It was inevitable that MacArthur's political judgment, after 14 uninterrupted years in the Far East, should become unsound. To him Asia had become the world. But his military judgment also failed. If there is one thing on which there is agreement in the Pentagon, it is that our failures in Korea have been largely MacArthur's fault. No commander could have performed better in Korea up to the time of the Inchon landing. However, a series of blunders followed, most of them arising from personal short-comings of the General. His first error after Inchon was to attack the city of Seoul when he might have by-passed Seoul and hastened directly to the Yalu River before the Chinese pushed across the border. Nothing is more costly than fighting inside a city, but MacArthur was determined to make his grand entrance into Seoul with President Sygman Rhee regardless of the cost.

The deficiency of MacArthur's judgment as to what the Chinese Communists would do left him unprepared for their first attack. To continue to back his faulty judgment and allow the Tenth Corps to proceed with the advance northward even after General Walker's initial withdrawal and reorganization was inexcusable. General Walker's offensive of November 25 which resulted in the decisive defeat of the Eighth Army was another blunder due to MacArthur's clinging to his preconceptions about Chinese intentions.

General MacArthur explained that he was over-

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whelmed by "Chinese hordes"; the Pentagon considers that the defeat was entirely of his own doing. They point out that Ridgway has conducted the recent advances of more than 100 miles with exactly the same forces which General MacArthur commanded when he was pushed back.

By vigorous new military decisions we can avoid a stalemate in Korea. Our forces have 100 miles yet to go to the North before they reach a stalemate position. Strategic maneuvering to clean up enemy installations and push the enemy back before we reach that point can put victory within grasp.

Instead of following MacArthur's counsel to arm and supply the army of Chiang Kai-shek—which would most likely desert to the Communists once it reached the mainland—we should promptly reverse MacArthur's policy of refusing to arm the 500,000 South Koreans who are available for fighting. The *New Republic* long ago urged that the South Koreans are the proper source of new manpower. The buildup of this local force should now receive first priority in the shipment of arms.

The objective of the MacArthur clique is to undermine United Nations policy in the Far East. Their method is to preach defeatism with regard to our present course and to delude the gullible with tales about easy conquest and early peace. They would lead the free world to probable disaster. The Chinese offensive is likely to inflict heavy damage on the UN forces in the early stages. But there is reason to believe that in a relatively short time we can check whatever attack the Communists can launch. In all likelihood, this latest effort represents maximum Chinese strength, and if we are in fact able to withstand it, a truce may finally be near. A patient and determined continuance of the fight against aggression until peace can be forced on UN terms is our only choice in Korea.

ARE WE LICKING INFLATION?

SINCE mid-February, when wholesale prices hit the peak of their post-Korean rise, these basic prices have been virtually stationary. The over-all index, which was 183.6 at mid-February, was down slightly, to 183.3, on April 7. Consumers' prices, too, have been slowing down. Their rise from January to February was smaller than that of the month before. The rise from February to March was almost negligible.

What is the meaning of this set-back to the forward movement of prices? Does it mean that price control has already begun to work effectively? Does it portend an early victory in the fight against inflation? Can we afford now to concentrate our attention and energies on other sectors of the mobilization front?

On examination, the factors chiefly responsible for the current leveling off in prices, other than price control, seem to be as follows:

1. During the post-Korean inflationary wave, both business and consumers did a considerable amount of forward buying and built up inventories in excess of current needs to forestall anticipated shortages. Many of these shortages have not developed, and demand has slackened off.

2. Most businessmen during the post-Korean period raised their prices considerably in excess of cost increases so that they would be in a favorable position when price controls were imposed. Many find that they have overshot the market and have encountered stiffening buyer resistance to higher prices, spearheaded by organized labor.

3. The higher taxes enacted last fall have not been matched, as yet, by sharply increased government outlays for defense production, which have reached only a $2-billion-a-month level. In consequence, federal cash receipts from the public exceeded cash payments to the public by almost $7 billion dollars during the first quarter of 1951, with a consequent deflationary impact on the economy.

4. Credit curbs on banks, businessmen and consumers have also undoubtedly contributed to the leveling off of prices.

Barring unforeseeable international developments, the current price plateau will probably extend to, or even well into, next summer. By that time, however, very strong inflationary pressures will again endanger stability. With materials, manpower facilities and transportation facilities all in short supply, the forward surge of prices will be irresistible—unless we take the measures necessary now to ensure economic stability later on.

We still need action now on higher taxes; more effective curbs on business credit; a vastly increased savings program; amendment of the Defense Production Act to permit the effective control of farm prices, rents and commodity speculation, as well as the maintenance of quality standards and the continued production of low-priced items; and more effective materials controls. Without these, the most rigorous operation of price controls by the OPS can result only in wholesale evasions and mushrooming black markets next fall.

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THE WEEK

RADIOACTIVE MOAT

Rep. Albert Gore (D, Tenn.) has recommended that President Truman order the use of new "cataclysmic" poisons that would "dehumanize a belt across the Korean peninsula by surface radiological contamination." Enemy troops entering the zone, he said, would face "certain death or slow deformity." Gore, who is neither a scientist nor apparently a humanitarian, believes such action would effect "a satisfactory solution of the whole Korean problem."

The proposal was so outrageous that the Atomic Energy Commission, the Pentagon and the White House refused to honor it with comment. To spread radioactive poisons in the form of dusts or sprays over a defined area, as Gore would have our military do, would itself be impossible. Wind, rain and other elements would carry the poisons beyond the designated area. As one scientist put it: you can't make a radioactive belt the way you chalk a tennis court. Even if you could, such contamination of an area, with rays as dangerous as those given off by the atomic bomb, would make land uninhabitable to animal and plant life for 50 to 100 years. If unification of Korea is the aim of the United Nations' forces now fighting there, a radioactive belt that would divide the country for a century and make a part of it uninhabitable is certainly no solution.

REDS REACT TO MAC

Financial observers provide some special-intelligence on the reception behind the Iron Curtain of General MacArthur's dismissal. Since he was fired, the value of the US dollar as against virtually all Iron Curtain currencies has risen sharply. Franz Pick, publisher of the World Currency Report, speculating on the significance of this change, is quoted as saying that "It might reflect the fear in those countries that the dismissal of General MacArthur might lead to changed United States policy that would be less favorable to Communist countries." From April 10 to April 18, the black-market prices for the dollar in terms of units of local currency jumped from 26.5 to 28.5 in Moscow; from 41.5 to 44 in Budapest; from 475 to 500 in Prague. The interpretation favored by some financial experts is that MacArthur's removal makes a general conflict less likely, which means that opportunities for trade between the Iron Curtain countries and the West are greater and hence the demand for dollars is increasing.

POOR "MR. Z"

The *Wall Street Journal* last week carried a front-page article on the fiscal pinch "Mr. Z," a New England manufacturing executive, feels on his $35,000-a-year income. "Mr. Z" told *Wall Street Journal* reporter Richard B. Cole that he is having a hard time living on the plane to which he has become accustomed. His pathetic tale might make good supplementary material for labor to submit to the Wage Stabilization Board the next time the cost of living comes up.

The following is a condensation of the article:

"Last year my income was $5,000 larger than it ever was before, but for the first time I had to dip into my savings to meet Christmas and other year-end expenses," Mr. Z said. . . .

As Mr. Z figures it, he has been falling behind in many ways.

For example, he used to buy three tailor-made suits a year for about $125 each. Now at least one is apt to be bought ready-made for $65 at a sale.

When he bought Mrs. Z her 1949 Oldsmobile, he had to sell some stock instead of paying for it out of the accumulated surplus in his checking account. Mr. Z himself drives a 1950 Cadillac. He fears he'll have to sell more stock when he turns it in on a '51 model this spring.

Soaring costs of running a household have also helped throw the Z family budget out of whack. Mrs. Z has a $300-a-month allowance to buy food, pay for the laundry and drycleaning . . . but recently she's been running into difficulties.

The Zs' big luxury is a summer home on Cape Cod. This is a large, rambling building, with seven bedrooms. . . . "I pay $2,000 rental—wouldn't own a summer house at any price," says Mr. Z. . . . "It costs $125 to put two small boats in the water and fix them up, my entertaining costs soar, and I guess the summer costs me $3,000 or more when everything's added in."

A winter junket is another expensive luxury—but one which the Zs would hate to forego. . . .

The Zs haven't bought many household gadgets since World War II; they have let themselves go in one direction—purchase of a small $300 TV set, which was before long turned in on a more elaborate $800 model.

ECA SHORT-CIRCUITED

Globe-scattered officials of the Economic Co-operation Administration, from Administrator William C. Foster on down, received a rude jolt last week with the surprise revelation that President Truman had given Secretary of State Dean Acheson the major voice in determining the allocation of an anticipated $10.5 billion foreign-aid appropriation for economic support and military aid to principal political areas.

Foster and his staff first learned of the startling change of policy from the April 18 edition of the New York *Times*, as Washington correspondent Felix Belair Jr. scored a decisive scoop on other dailies and the ECA itself. Word was on its way to Foster in a letter-directive from the President stating that "changing circumstances" in the international situation demanded the adjustment. Truman said that he felt the need of much greater co-ordination between the State Department and the ECA. "The Secretary of State," wrote

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the President, "under my direction is the Cabinet officer responsible for the formulation of foreign policy and the conduct of foreign relations, and will provide leadership and co-ordination among the executive agencies in carrying out foreign policies and programs."

Centralization of operation would seem to be an answer if the success of the ECA had not been largely built on its free-wheeling methods and its freedom from the bonds of protocol. ECA officials seemed too stunned to make any public observations. They knew, as did other Washington observers, that the President's directive would be in for rough treatment from a Congress that loves to give Acheson a going over and once before rejected an Administration proposal to make the ECA Administrator subordinate to the Secretary of State.

STATE OF THE ARMY

The Senate's Preparedness Subcommittee last week warned the armed forces to put their training camps in order, screen their teaching personnel for competence and use their manpower efficiently. The report was the result of numerous complaints of bad conditions in military centers, and of widespread dissatisfaction at the manner in which the "new Army" was continuing some of the old policies. To check on the situation, eight committee investigators had themselves drafted and shipped around to 16 of the largest military receiving stations in the country.

They found one "deplorable" situation. At the Army's Fort Knox, Ky., processing center, "daily orders were read over a loud-speaker system to approximately 3,000 half-assembled, straggling recruits. . . . In one company with a recruit strength of 50, 24 recruits were AWOL, 13 were in confinement and seven were sick." This was happily the sorry exception. Elsewhere recruits are getting at least a minimum of the basic requirements of food, medical attention, leadership and recreation. The Marine Corps was found to have the best training system, followed by the Navy, the Air Force and the Army.

The report sharply criticized the shortage of trained instructors, particularly in Army centers. "Training is not training if instructors are unqualified," it said. At the same time it strongly chided the services for "cutting corners" in the classification process which is intended to select the men who can strengthen the Army's training echelons. But on the whole the committee found morale to be good. "The most commonplace problem encountered by the chaplains was relatively minor—the recruits fail to write home and parents become concerned."

MOBILIZATION PROGRESS

The Administration has taken two substantial steps to meet labor's criticism of defense mobilization policies. By a 12 to 4 vote, the members of President Truman's new 17-man National Advisory Board on Mobilization Policy voted to reconstruct the Wage Stabilization Board so as to give it the power to settle disputes concerning both non-wage and wage matters, as labor had demanded.

Equally encouraging is Economic Stabilizer Eric Johnston's action in setting profit standards to determine whether price increases are to be allowed. To prove that a proposed price rise is fair, an industry must now show that its profit does not exceed 85 percent of the average for the best three years during the 1946-49 period. More such moves will encourage labor to return to the defense organization.

OHIO'S HOT POTATO

The Republican-dominated Ohio State Legislature thought it had found a true comrade in Paul Snow, who identified himself as a GOP state Senator from Maine. The Ohio legislature invited him to speak before the House and Senate where Snow gave the Democratic minority a tongue-lashing. He even charged that Maine potatoes didn't mash well because of bureaucratic mismanagement in Washington. After the applause died down, the Republicans turned red. Mr. Snow, it was discovered, had escaped from the veterans' mental hospital at Chillicothe, Ohio.

CO-DETERMINATION

The German labor movement will soon begin testing an interesting new variant of socialism, "co-determination," the policy which the Bonn parliament has formulated for Germany's coal and steel industries. An ingenious middle-ground between free enterprise and nationalization, "co-determination" provides for the sharing of managerial responsibility by owners and workers, with the two groups represented equally on the boards of directors of both the companies and the industry-wide organizations.

The new policy has grown out of long-term labor demands dating back to the Weimar period. Konrad Adenauer's government gave in reluctantly and introduced the legislation last January only after labor unions threatened industry-wide strikes. However, once committed, Adenauer stuck to his guns and forced his party to combine with the Social Democrats to push the legislation through over the opposition of his Right-Wing coalition partners.

"Co-determination" constitutes a major victory for the German Trade-Union Federation, which has unified the party labor groups of the Weimar period into a single organization with more than five million members. Traditionally more concerned with political than strictly economic aims, German workers displayed considerable restraint on postwar wage policies in order to throw all their strength into the "co-determination" battle. Now they will have the right to elect five directors to the boards of their companies as well as to industry senates which will take over when Allied control lapses.

Essentially the adoption of "co-determination" means that Germany is developing a middle position in Europe, between British and Scandinavian socialism and the free enterprise of France and Italy. This is definitely in line with American objectives, although the National Association of Manufacturers blusteringly warned the Germans that such a policy would "discourage American investment." But the Germans are betting on encouraging German democracy.

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

NEUTRALISM DWINDLES

Part of the price the British people will have to pay as their share of the material cost of the Atlantic rearmament program is yet another year of austerity. The prospect offered by the government's Economic Survey for 1951 is quite frankly "harsh and unpleasant"—higher prices (some £600 million for fewer home-market goods; more controls; no "unreasonable" increase in wages, salaries, profits, dividends; higher taxes (about £150 million); hence, an additional fall in the standard of living. Naturally, the burden will come most heavily on the lower-income brackets in which, despite the Labour Government's variant of the New Deal, standards are already far lower than among the equivalent categories in the United States.

Yet there are few doubts, in Britain, in continental Western Europe or, for that matter, beyond the Iron Curtain, that the British people, and especially the working classes, will by and large stand up to the strain. The apportionment of austerity will of course be an issue in British domestic politics, the Labour Government may conceivably go down to defeat on it, but whatever the political outcome, the outlay for Atlantic rearmament is not likely to suffer. Nor is the general determination to make sacrifices for the kind of strength that alone can equip the West to bargain for a modus vivendi with the East.

In France, the British order of political values at this juncture—increasing strength and determination first, moderation second—is reversed. French President Auriol and the leading members of the government have recently been vying with one another in speaking a language of unflinching determination to warm the hearts of the Americans, but neutralism, rather than disappearing altogether, has been going underground. Rearmament is still in France (and also in Italy) very much a matter of domestic politics. The once bold voices of neutralism are now timid, but they do make themselves heard.

For example, Hubert Beuve-Mery, the editor of the *Monde*, and one of the most consistent spokesmen of perhaps the most influential current in neutralism, insists even now that the Atlantic Pact (at least in its present form) may turn out to be an invitation to disaster for Western Europe, and that moderation in American policy is now, more than ever, a desperate necessity. He writes:

> Failing another solution, it would be more self-respecting to opt frankly for federation with the United States and to claim the equality of rights and duties established by American legislation. At present we are building with our own hands a sort of disguised protectorate; and greater expropriations are the general counter-weight to the reduction of our responsibilities—but not of our risks. . . . The governments [of France, Italy, West Germany] are yielding too much to the American attraction. . . . The malleability of European statesmen ceases to be an advantage for America when it accentuates the opposition or the passivity of the peoples. . . . Between subjection to Moscow and a possibly suicidal war, a large fraction of European opinion instinctively seeks a third way. . . . Europe hopes that America will not be too hasty and too violent in repairing the mistakes made since Yalta; that America will not too soon consider itself obligated to pit everything against everything.

It is, in the view of an increasingly large number of Frenchmen, precisely this kind of desperate wish-fulfillment thinking, full of cloud-cuckoo-land anticipations of Stalin's recognition of the value of freedom, that may make "the coming year in Europe . . . a time of very great danger." If General Marshall is justified in worrying about a let-down in American determination, there is infinitely more reason to be concerned about back-sliding in French and Italian morale.

There is a growing gap between the expressed views of French and Italian statesmen and the sentiments of the people. It does not come from a willingness of politicians to take the risk of war in order to placate Americans who can help them stay in office, while the peoples are so afraid of war that they will, perhaps indirectly, sabotage defense preparations. It comes from a willingness on the part of the politicians to take the domestic political risks of a fair apportionment of the sacrifices on behalf of Atlantic rearmament.

In England the new taxes will be justly spread over the whole population. In France the 80 to 100 billion francs of new taxes will fall most heavily on precisely the Frenchmen who can least afford to pay. The strikes in France this spring have been more serious than any since 1936; they have had the support not only of all the labor-union organizations, including the most vigorously anti-Communist, but also a large part of the whole population.

The situation of the working classes in France is so bad (and getting worse as post-rearmament inflation develops) that it creates a gap between the people and government which the neutralists (as well as the Communists) can exploit. There are only two ways of improving that situation: either to cut down rearmament expenses or to work out and put into effect very quickly a thorough reform of the French official economic system, particularly the taxation system. No time can be lost.

If the government and people of the United States content themselves with the glowing statements of French officials (sincere though they may be) without demanding that practical action be taken to reinforce the will of the French people to back up those statements, they will be playing into the hands of the neutralists who are now a more serious danger to the Atlantic community than the home-grown and Moscow-trained Communists. The French do not have television sets of the sort which brought the proceedings of the Kefauver and Fulbright committees into the homes of the American people. But they can see and feel daily, indeed hourly, painful evidences of a need on the part of their political masters of the courage, the good sense and the high morale which France needs if the French are not to stumble back into the dangerous course of neutralism's third way.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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OUR DOLLAR PATRIOTS

This is the first in a series of articles revealing how special interests are profiteering on our national defense program. This is the story of how selfish men have manipulated the price of tungsten, a metal vital to both military and civilian production. Other similar raids by our dollar patriots at the public expense will be reported in future issues.

by Henry Coates

THE AVERAGE citizen, presently captivated by more colorful circuses in the news, cannot be blamed for his unconcern over such unromantic subjects as strategic metals and vital raw materials.

Yet for the past few weeks one strategic material, tungsten, has been the subject of a meaningful drama unfolding in Washington front and back rooms, a drama in which most of the characters seemed to be whispering their parts, inaudible beyond the first few rows.

When Price Stabilizer Michael DiSalle placed his signature on Ceiling Price Regulation 19, raising the price of tungsten to $65 a short ton, he not only opened the doors to uncontrolled inflation a little wider but also offered some solid evidence as to just why price control is neither controlling nor containing prices. Regulation 19 puts a floor—a flat floor, not a ceiling—on tungsten, and the government, in addition, agrees to purchase any and all of the metal produced for the next five years.

The official explanation of the increase is reasonable, logical and impressive: "Domestic production of tungsten must be expanded to the fullest possible extent because of the substantially increased demands arising out of the defense program together with the loss of our most important sources."

The facts bear this out. Approximately 11 million pounds of this vital material will be required by the US this year. Last year we produced less than seven million pounds. The additional supply was made up by imports, largely from China, Burma and Korea, particularly North Korea. Some of these countries are now definitely lost as supply areas while others must be put on the questionable list.

Tungsten is indispensable in modern productive processes. It is used to make alloy steels, armor plating, armor piercing projectiles, knives, hacksaws and other things. It is essential in the electronics industry where it is used as electric light and radio-tube filaments and in many other chemical and metallic products. Unquestionably, domestic tungsten production must be increased.

The pre-Korean price of this metal fluctuated between $20-$25 a short ton. A short-ton unit on tungsten concentrates is 20 pounds of WO_3 (tungsten trioxide, the basic tungsten compound). The General Ceiling Price Regulation of January 26 froze prices in a range between $28 a unit for domestic production of relatively high-grade deposits and $70 for imported material.

American tungsten producers put up a terrific howl over the January freeze. Privately they were admitting that $28 for high-grade domestic production was profitable. They were making money under the freeze, particularly since they were exempt from excess-profits taxes. However, they felt that it was their prerogative to make more than just a reasonable profit and that now was the time to do it. Pressure was applied. Producers met steadily with their two best friends on Capitol Hill, Sen. Pat McCarran of Nevada and Edwin Johnson of Colorado, both from major tungsten-producing states.

Sensitive to all forms of pressure, the Office of Price Stabilization officials reacted just as they have so often since their first brave act on January 26: they caved in and agreed to a $55 short-ton ceiling.

More pressure was applied to them by some of the top officials in mobilization whose story was that we must encourage tungsten production.

But the $55-a-unit price order was never written. It wasn't enough, even though almost one-half of all domestic tungsten can be profitably produced at $45 a unit or less. Low-grade producers, of course, would receive far above the $55. Even at the $55 floor, non-marginal producers remained unsatisfied.

On March 17, Senator McCarran went to the floor of the Senate with his fight against the $55 price, charging: "This ill-considered price ceiling is nothing short of another deliberate attempt to sabotage the mining industry upon which our nation depends, and will depend more and more as these strategic elements become scarcer, because of our being deprived of access to territory from which we have been accustomed to receive."

By this time, Administrator James Boyd of the Defense Minerals Administration, much to the displeasure of many Interior officials, had taken up the cudgels for a $65 price. Boyd, a former dean of the Colorado School of Mines, is no stranger to tungsten producers. He worked hard for the higher price. In a letter to Price

Henry Coates is a free lance writer in Washington, D. C. He has written articles on government and labor problems.

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Administrator DiSalle, dated March 23, 1951, Boyd stated: "Having dealt intimately with the problem over the last few months, both in the domestic and foreign fields, it is our considered judgment that a ceiling price of $65 per short-ton unit is justified.

During all this time there has been no evidence of the availability of any detailed analysis of tungsten production costs which would make the $65 figure a fair and logical price. In fact, the noticeable lack of such data raised many questions in the minds of unhappy minor officials, particularly those in the OPS who saw themselves putting floors, not ceilings, on prices.

Other people had questions, too. One of these was Minnesota's Sen. Hubert Humphrey who, on March 28, addressed a sharply pointed letter to Economic Stabilizer Eric Johnston after learning of the high-level maneuverings. "This proposed increase," [to $65] wrote Humphrey, "may prove to be a very serious blow to our economy and to the government's stabilization program." The Senator raised the following points in addition:

1. In general terms this proposal, in my judgment, violates an exceedingly important principle of price stabilization. Ceiling prices should not be set as incentives to securing marginal high-cost production. If such a program is accepted our stabilization program is lost.

2. The tungsten case may well become a precedent, not only for copper, lead and zinc and other scarce materials, but also in other areas.

3. Tungsten production is today exempt from the excess-profits tax. Normal producers, therefore, are assured a more than reasonable profit in view of this exemption and in view of the past performance of this industry.

4. I can see no reason to believe that a flat floor of $65 a ton and a five-year purchase contract would guarantee maximum production, and it certainly appears unreasonable to me to consider such a gross incentive necessary in the national interest. A great many Americans are today expected to respond to the public interest at a great sacrifice to themselves without incentives other than the national self-interest.

5. World War I experience indicates that a high price by itself may have an undesirable effect on supply.

Senator Humphrey wrote that he considered marginal and high-cost producers to be essential to the defense effort. However, he foresaw real danger in establishing a ceiling price for a complete industry on the basis of a few such producers. He advocated subsidies for these special companies, a practice which proved successful in World War II.

Subsidies are not what tungsten producers and their friends want. They do not provide the opportunity for exorbitant profits. Defense Production Administrator William H. Harrison, president of the giant International Telephone and Telegraph monopoly, is strongly opposed to subsidies. And McCarran, in his March 20 Senate speech, said subsidies were one thing he feared. But these men have never denied that subsidies would meet the honest needs of the marginal producers and yet contain the inflationary spiral.

Senator Humphrey asked Johnston for specific information on which the proposed ceiling would be granted. On April 10, four days after the Ceiling Price Regulation was issued and almost two weeks after the Humphrey request was sent out, a letter was received from Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse, former Congresswoman, now special assistant to the OPS director, containing absolutely none of the factual information requested by Humphrey and stating only that the increased price "will encourage greatly expanded production of tungsten ore."

Meanwhile, Ceiling Price Regulation 19 was issued on April 6. Apparently the OPS was at a loss to offer any detailed basis for the regulation which, significantly, did not include detailed cost information to substantiate the increase. The regulation, on the contrary, admitted that: "Unfortunately, very little data is available to measure with any degree of precision the ceiling-price level necessary to bring about the required expansion, and the exigency of the situation does not permit any extended study," it lamely explained.

Senator Humphrey, now joined by Sen. Paul Douglas (D, Ill.) and Herbert Lehman (D, N.Y.), has formally protested the tungsten regulation and has demanded a thorough re-study and re-evaluation of the entire matter.

The tungsten episode offers one more painful illustration of the duplicity of the stabilization program, a duplicity in which big, private-business interests, under cover of a world crisis and vital need for materials, are relatively unhindered in securing outlandish prices.

The tungsten story is just as alarming as an example of mobilization operation: the influence of vested interests, the power fight between agencies and the involvement of Congress in pressure politics. All available information indicates that OPS officials did not favor the $65 price; however, Boyd and the Defense Minerals Administration, close to the producers, with the outspoken support of interest-saddled Senators and top mobilization officials who hail from the business world, forced the OPS to capitulate.

Now the bar has been lifted. Other producers of scarce or near-scarce materials have the green light to come forward and demand their "fair" share on precedent. Producers in areas other than the West will demand their "rights." The door is open; the road is paved.

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THE NEW LAND GRAB

THE WESTERN land grabbers are ridin' down on Washington. In their saddle bags they carry, not dried beef, but a proposed piece of legislation to accomplish a steal they first attempted four years ago.

A few stockmen and their lawyers are counting on the shortness of the public's memory. In 1947, a small group of cattle and sheep barons who ride herd on the national livestock associations proposed a bill that would have permitted them to take over the public grazing lands of the West. They wanted to buy these lands at nine cents to $2.50 an acre and take 45 years to pay them out! The steal was raw enough to gag an oldtime cattle rustler. Once the proposal was exposed no Senator or Congressman dared introduce the bill. Even in the range country, many a small rancher waked up and denounced his own livestock association leaders.

The biggest land grab in the nation's history failed in 1947, but the livestock association bosses looked on it as only a temporary rout. So they're ridin' East again. This time they are being cagier. They are not asking for outright ownership of national forest ranges. Instead, they seek to freeze their grazing privileges into a vested interest and hamstring the US Forest Service on all issues involving national forest grazing land in 14 Western States. If Congress should write their wishes into law, this set-up could be more profitable than actual ownership of public lands.

Five men representing the livestock associations are in Washington to pull off the deal. They are F. E. Mollin, executive secretary of the American National Livestock Association, J. M. ("Casey") Jones, executive secretary of the National Woolgrowers Association, and three men who give legal advice and lobbying support: Farrington Carpenter of Hayden, Colo., Vernon Metcalf of Reno, Nev., and Forest Cooper of Lakeview, Ore. These five men have met with Western Senators and Congressmen in the hope of finding a sponsor for the bill. Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D, Wyo.) would be ideal from the stockmen's point of view, but he may choose to sidestep an issue that could become very unpopular. Sen. Pat McCarran (D, Nev.) would gladly ride along with the stockmen; his support, however, has dubious value.

These are the favors that this small band would like an obliging public to bestow on them:

1. They would like to convert all present grazing permits on national forests into established rights. In issuing future grazing permits, the Forest Service would be required to give preference to ranchers now holding permits. The newcomer would never have a chance to graze his cattle or sheep on the national forests unless he bought out a rancher now holding a grazing permit.

2. They want the legal right to *sell* national grazing permits when they dispose of their private property.

3. They want to make the US Forest Service accept leased land as base property for the issuance of a grazing permit. At present, the Forest Service issues grazing permits only to ranchers who own their base property. The theory is that this makes for greater stability of use.

4. They want other users of national forests to play second fiddle. If they get their wishes, range land on national forests could not be assigned to wildlife or recreation uses, for example, until a public hearing had been held. No other group of users of the national forest is guaranteed an exclusive right of use.

5. They want to set up local, state and national advisory boards made up entirely of stockmen who now graze their cattle or sheep on national forests. Water users, sportsmen and wildlife people feel they have a right to representation along with stockmen.

6. They want the right to appeal decisions of the Secretary of Agriculture to the US Court of Appeals. If the Secretary decided that the stocking of a deteriorated national forest range should be cut from 800 head of cattle to 500 head, the rancher could keep the Secretary indefinitely busy with litigation while the 800 head of cattle were eating every blade of grass they could find on the overgrazed range.

7. The stockmen would like to have grazing fees changed only by act of Congress. Actually, stockmen who use the national forests have enjoyed a subsidy for many years. A Rocky Mountain rancher who holds a grazing permit on a national forest pays 51 cents per cow per month as a grazing fee. If he rented comparable private pasturage, he would pay from $1.50 to $3.

These are the choice morsels that the riders of the range want for their camp stew. Conservationists are already organizing a counter camp. Ira Gabrielson, director of the Wildlife Management Institute, has let out a blast in Washington that echoed in the Rockies.

The question of grazing on national forests concerns not just the Western livestockmen or the Forest Service, but everyone. National forests protect watersheds. Water is the key to prosperity in the West. An abused watershed hurts the farmer, the industrialist, even the city housewife who uses water from the faraway mountains.

Will Congress favor a minority of Western stockmen at the risk of destroying watershed values?

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WE WISH TO BE CERTIFIED

by Joseph E. Finley

CERTIORARI is an old Latin word surviving in the law from the phrase *certiorari volumanus*, which means, "We wish to be certified." The United States Supreme Court today decides what cases it will hear by granting a writ of certiorari to a lower court which certifies the record up to the high bench. Approximately one case in 10 gets certified, argued and decided. A few others, including an occasional important controversy, must be heard where an appeal is permitted by law in special situations.

In the nine cases turned down, the Court has a powerful weapon for making law almost as important as the judicial wisdoms of its written opinions. When certiorari is denied, the decision of the lower court stands unshaken and the case is ended. Reasons are seldom, if ever, given. Behind this road block of silence some of the most important cases in America today are being decided.

A powerful criticism of the Supreme Court's choice of cases was recently published in a University of Pennsylvania law-review article by a Yale teacher and his student. Professor Fowler V. Harper, a widely known legal scholar, and Alan S. Rosenthal studied cases turned down at the last term, and for the first time directed attention to the Court's escape hatch from tough problems. The present Vinson Court has been criticized in a most vulnerable spot.

In 1925, impressed by the overwhelming burden of work piled on the Court, Congress changed the law to allow the justices to select from the piles of petitions before them matters of national importance and to leave the rest to the lower courts. Rules were made for guidance, and phrases like "questions of general importance" and "important question of federal law" set out the discretionary lines for the Court's judgment. If four of the nine justices thought a case was worthy enough, certiorari was granted and it was brought up for argument.

The new system worked well for a number of years. All the important New Deal issues came before the Court and were decided, even if some of the decisions did bring howls of criticism all over the country. The social awareness of the Roosevelt Court helped it choose major constitutional problems, and our greatest progress in expanding the Bill of Rights was made. When the first Truman appointments arrived, there was still enough of the New Deal liberalism to get the big civil-liberties issues decided. But when Frank Murphy and Wiley Rutledge died in the summer of 1949, Justices Black and Douglas no longer had the four votes needed to get important civil-liberties problems before the Court.

In one of the most important cases turned down last term, Justice Frankfurter, evidently anticipating criticism, wrote a long opinion to comment on the denial of certiorari. A Baltimore radio station had been convicted of contempt of court for broadcasting the story of an alleged confession in a dramatic murder case. The Maryland Court of Appeals reversed the conviction, and the state petitioned for certiorari. Freedom of the press was in direct conflict with the administration of criminal justice, as Frankfurter admitted in his opinion. But the only reason he gave for not taking the case was that less than four justices voted to hear it.

Frankfurter tried to explain that a denial of certiorari should not be taken as a decision on the merits of the case. The Court has tried to maintain the position, well stated by Mr. Justice Holmes, that "the denial of certiorari imports no expression of opinion upon the merits of the case, as the bar has been told many times."

Last fall, Frankfurter again shook his finger at the bar when the Court turned down a Pennsylvania murder case. "But it is not merely the laity that seems to misapprehend . . . that denying . . . does not imply approval of anything that may have been said by the lower court. . . . " The justice is technically correct, but as a practical matter, clients and counsel are still compelled to change their conduct in line with an important denial.

For example, the cases of Lawson and Trumbo, listed by Harper and Rosenthal in their study as one of the most important civil-liberties issues of the past term, raised the legal problem of whether one could refuse to answer political questions before a Congressional committee relying on the First Amendment's general protection of freedom of speech. Certiorari was denied. No lawyer now would be foolish enough to advise his client to stand on the First Amendment before a Congressional investigating committee.

There are many reasons why the Court might decide not to take a case. First of all, the limits of time demand a careful selection. A large number of petitions obviously have no merit and the Court's time is further restricted by the consideration it must give them. A petition might be rejected because a similar case has

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A free lance writer and lawyer, Joseph Finley will join the Washington firm of Woll, Glenn & Thatcher on June 1.

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been or will be decided. Procedural defects and failure to raise issues properly will eliminate others. Some justices might even vote not to take a case because they feel it would be decided wrongly and would prefer the disagreeable lower court opinion to stand as easier to overrule at a later time. But if the justices build up a pattern of consistent rejection of important issues, and the Harper and Rosenthal article takes that position, the Court is not doing its job.

The Yale writers studied 464 cases rejected at the last term. Using their own standards of judgment, they classified 64 of them as issues of national importance that should have been decided by the Court. In many of these cases, there were dissenting opinions by lower judges and comments on the decisions in the law reviews.

Twenty-seven were civil-liberties cases—the most numerous category. The other important ones were widely sprinkled among labor, taxation and miscellaneous issues restricted largely to the private world of lawyers. If one accepts the premise that rulings on civil-liberties issues are of fundamental importance in a democracy, the Court's neglect even to hear so many major problems is a shocking departure from the Bill of Rights progress made during the last ten years.

Take the unhappy situation of poor Louis Bernard Lapides, who had been a naturalized American citizen for 20 years. In 1934, he took his wife and son, who was born in this country, to Palestine. He didn't return until 1947, when he was caught in the frustration web of Ellis Island. A statute passed in his absence took away the citizenship of any naturalized person five years out of the country. His attorneys challenged the constitutionality of the law, arguing that it placed illegal conditions on citizenship and discriminated between native-born and naturalized Americans, which was the point of Judge Henry Edgerton's vigorous dissent in the District of Columbia Court of Appeals. Certiorari was denied and Lapides lost his citizenship. His citizen son, already in the United States, was faced with giving up his family or giving up his country.

The happiest civil-rights rulings last term were the Sweatt, McLaurin and Henderson decisions where the Court unanimously upset segregation in graduate education and railroad dining cars. But in another important case, involving a similar issue, the Court turned its cold phrase. In Dorsey v. Stuyvesant Town Corp., a Negro war veteran sued to get into the New York housing project of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. The New York Court of Appeals, by a four to three vote, upheld Metropolitan's right to segregate, but the dissenters strongly insisted that a city tax exemption was state aid, and, thus, keeping Negroes out of a state-supported housing project was illegal under the Fourteenth Amendment. Black and Douglas dissented from the denial of certiorari. The issue was of wide public importance and involved a highly questionable neglect of the Fourteenth Amendment by the New York Court of Appeals.

The tragedy of Tony Marino is bound up in legal red tape and strange rulings. In 1925, Marino, an 18-year-old immigrant unable to understand English and without counsel in an Illinois murder case, was sentenced to life imprisonment. In 1947, he petitioned a state circuit court for habeas corpus on the grounds that his constitutional rights had been denied. From this turndown, he petitioned the United States Supreme Court for certiorari. The Attorney General of Illinois then admitted that habeas corpus was the proper remedy in the state court and on this undisputed statement of facts, the Court, in a unanimous opinion, sent the case back for a new hearing. The state court again denied Marino's claim. Once more a writ of certiorari was asked. This time it was refused, over the dissents of Murphy, Douglas and Rutledge. Marino appealed the state ruling to the Illinois Supreme Court, which turned him down. Then for the third time, his case went to the Supreme Court of the United States. Certiorari was denied. Two years before, nine justices had agreed with the admissions of the Illinois Attorney General that substantive due process had been denied, but Tony Marino was still in jail. Other cases with less national importance have still sent lawyers spinning.

Critics of the Court also claim the justices are incompetent for turning out a low output of work. Last term, the Vinson Court wrote only 94 opinions. During a 10-year period up to 1936, the Court turned out an average of 188 opinions per term. Already, last year's deep-plunge figure appears higher than what will probably come out from the present sitting. Before March 12, 1951, the Court had written only 45 opinions. By the same time a year ago, with Douglas absent and Reed in ill health, 49 opinions had been delivered. Unless a very heavy output is delivered between now and June, historians will have to go a long way back in their books to find a lower figure. If the Court will not or cannot produce a reasonable work load, then its denials of certiorari will of necessity have to be more frequent to keep the docket clear.

Whether the Court is actually incompetent, or whether it wants to work a little less hard, or whether it feels that most of the major Bill of Rights problems have already been settled, we cannot say. But the refusal to hear so many cases that touch premises upon which our democracy is built shows a striking lack of awareness of what is important. If a man dies in the electric chair

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when there are strong doubts about the legal process that sent him there, that is more important than a dispute over a patent on a pin-ball machine, which was decided by the Court at the last term.

Every critic realizes that nine men cannot review the legal troubles of every American. Harper and Rosenthal ask that big issues get the consideration their importance deserves. They admit they did not examine the records of all the cases turned down and they admit that unknown factors might often explain the rejection. But they were rightly troubled by the big issues that appeared in the 64 cases never heard and never explained. Until the nine wise men in their marble palace help us understand better why they do not choose to hear, the clamor from below will grow louder. We wish to be certified.

HOW THE BANKS CAUSE INFLATION

by Glenn E. Hoover

THE BELIEF that the government, by fiat, can halt or "roll back" prices is fading rapidly. Labor's spokesmen who have urged stringent control of all prices—with milder controls over wages—are now denouncing the present program as a "cruel hoax." They complain of defects in the present law and inept enforcement of it.

They still have not renounced their faith in direct controls, but it is obvious that labor leaders intend to rely more on increasing wages and expect little from attempts to control prices.

The knowledge is slowly dawning that the government cannot permit the commercial bankers to expand deposits recklessly and, by exhortation and decree, halt the inevitable rise in prices. The belief that this was possible dies hard, but until it is dead and buried, we cannot get far with the control of inflation. Also due for burial is the crude notion that the increase in our money supply consists of "printing-press" money with which our improvident government pays its bills. The money issued by our government, the coins and bills outside of the Treasury and the Reserve Banks, has actually decreased by about $1 billion since 1945. The real offenders are the banks of deposit, which during the same time have "created" nearly $8 billion of additional bank deposits as shown by the following figures:

End of	*Money in Circulation*	*Demand Deposits in Commercial Banks*
	(*in millions*)	
1939	7,598	32,513
1941	11,160	44,349
1945	28,515	92,446
1947	28,868	95,711
1949	27,600	96,136
1950	27,737	(Nov.) 100,130

(*Federal Reserve Bulletin*, January, 1951)

Many commercial bankers resent the charge that they "create" the deposits which increase our money supply. They often talk as though they only loaned coins and bills which have first been deposited with them. What they do in fact was well set forth by the US Chamber of Commerce, in 1948, in its report entitled "The Economics of Money Supply":

> So long as banks are able to make loans on fractional reserves, they will be able to create money; and this is, today, one of their important functions. . . . It has already been seen that a commercial bank does not merely receive funds from one person and lend those same funds to another; the making of loans creates new money, new deposits, based on fractional reserves. *It is the loan which creates the deposits. It is the loan which expands the money supply. It is the reserve which determines the limits of this expansion.*

Many bankers, however, oppose any increase in their reserve requirements, for this would curtail their power to "create" money and lend it at interest. As recently as November 13, 1950, Russell Leffingwell, vice-chairman of J. P. Morgan and Company, wrote in *Barron's Weekly* as follows:

> Another thing to avoid is an increase in member bank reserve requirements. Indeed reserve requirements in the central reserve cities (New York and Chicago) should be reduced to the levels in reserve cities. . . . Making changes in reserve requirements is not a good method of credit control. It is a rough and ready method; too rough and too ready. It is a dangerous weapon.

It will be noted that Mr. Leffingwell did not oppose increases in the legal reserves of commercial banks because such increases would be ineffective in curbing inflation. On the contrary, he opposed such increases because they might be too effective and lead to deflation. But if ever we needed a "rough," "ready" or even a "dangerous" weapon with which to combat inflation, that time is now.

Quantitative vs. Qualitative Controls. Some of those who would attack inflation through the money supply

Glenn E. Hoover is professor of Sociology and Economics at Mills College in California. He has contributed to the "American Journal of Economics and Sociology" and is a member of its editorial board.

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believe that the controls over bank loans from which the additional deposits arise should be selective in character. Others believe that we should simply shrink the total volume of deposits. The relative merits of both types of control have been set forth in a recent report of the Committee on Public Issues of the American Economic Association, published in *The American Economic Review* (September, 1950). The following excerpts are relevant:

> The great depression of the thirties was sharpened by credit contraction, and the postwar inflation of 1946-48 was heightened by credit expansion. Many economists regard the present banking system as an *automatic destabilizer*, unless effectively controlled. [Italics supplied.]
>
> Looking ahead, there are two main lines of bank-credit policy on which to rely—qualitative controls regulating particular types of credit, and quantitative controls to produce a general tightening or easing of credit. Quantitative controls must be the main reliance, but the possibilities and limitations of qualitative controls need to be considered.
>
> Some opinion seems to favor primary reliance on qualitative controls in circumstances where inflationary pressures need to be checked by tight credit. Most economists are skeptical on this point for several reasons. There seems to be no possibility of designing workable controls over loans to finance inventories, a type of loan which contributed to inflation in 1946-48 and probably in 1919-20. In general, when one type of bank credit is restricted, the activities it is hoped to restrict can usually be financed under some label, thus evading the restriction.
>
> The destabilizing tendencies of banking could be reduced by setting higher reserve requirements.

There is, of course, no valid reason why both quantitative and qualitative controls should not be applied simultaneously.

Objections To Raising Reserve Requirements. It is often urged that increasing reserve requirements would be futile because commercial banks could sell government bonds to the reserve banks and thus obtain whatever reserves were required. The simple answer to that is that if we continued to raise the reserve requirements, the commercial banks would some day have no more bonds to sell. The reserve system could then enforce a restrictive policy through the conventional devices of rediscount rates and open-market operations. We should then have inflation by the throat.

There are some who insist that the reserve banks should never acquire government bonds either by buying them directly from the Treasury or by "supporting the market." They claim such a practice makes the reserve system a mere "engine of the Treasury," and they observe, quite rightly, that purchases by the system have the same effect as would the "printing" of an equivalent amount of money. What they forget is that the purchase of bonds by commercial banks has the same effect. Both commercial banks and reserve banks 'create the money" with which they purchase government bonds, but there is no logical reason why that valuable privilege should be reserved for the commercial banks. The reserve banks are essentially non-profit corporations, and most of any sums paid them as interest would ultimately revert to the Treasury instead of adding to the profits of the commercial banks.

Another merit of the proposal here outlined is that it would enable the reserve system to halt the inflation without forcing the market price of government bonds below par, or to require a continuing increase in the interest rates which the Treasury must pay as it refunds the national debt. This considerable merit, however, does not appeal to those whose hatred for the Administration leads them to look on any government bond as a Truman IOU. They would make political hay of every decline in the market price of the securities issued by their own government. As taxpayers, too, they would gladly pay higher interest rates on the government debt if such high rates could be made to reflect discredit on a regime they despise.

From 1946 to November, 1950, the demand deposits of all commercial banks rose only from $92 billion to $100 billion, and this small percentage increase could hardly explain the rapid rise in prices during this period. During this same period, the "velocity of circulation," or annual rate of turnover of demand deposits in the New York banks, increased 24 percent, while the rate of turnover in "other leading cities," as reported in *The Federal Reserve Bulletin*, rose 31 percent. When one recalls that any percentage increase in the rate of turnover of deposits has the same effect on prices as would an equal percentage increase in the volume of deposits, the spectre of a disastrous inflation really takes on flesh. And finally, there is the growing belief that our government either does not know how to halt the inflation or is unwilling to take the drastic measures that are required. It has long been known that nothing makes prices rise more quickly than a belief that they will rise still higher.

The leaders of both parties in Washington should know that it is not only the trade unionists who are displeased with the anti-inflation program to date. The general public is much more disillusioned—and madder —than our leaders surmise. It is becoming increasingly evident, as a financial writer recently expressed it, that the increase in the money supply is not the *cause* of inflation, but inflation itself. And because of the disturbing increase in the rate of turnover of bank deposits, the volume of such deposits must be not only held in check but sharply reduced.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Hunger Cannot Be Adjourned*

LAST DECEMBER the government of India requested from us two million tons of wheat with which to hold the line against starvation. All of us know that we have to die, and if we are philosophical, we resign ourselves to the inevitable. However, if left to the choice of the individual, few, if any, would elect to die by starvation. This means dying inch by inch while fully conscious of the process. It means mental torture for those who are near and dear. What greater anguish can there be than that suffered by the mother who is unable to obtain food for her children and is condemned to wait for the spark of life to be snuffed out of the emaciated body?

It is worth emphasizing that about the middle of last December the people of India, who have always held America in high regard, asked for wheat through their government. It was hoped that the first cargo might be forthcoming about the first of April. But no wheat has been sent as this is being written, and even if it is made immediately available, none can possibly reach the starving Indians until early May.

What has become of our American humanitarianism of which, on many occasions, we have won the right to be proud? We have often gone to the aid of peoples who have been hostile to us and whose ideology was such that we could expect open hostility in the future. We are even willing to extend a helping hand to Dictator Franco of Spain who despises us and who hoped to be in at our death when we were fighting for our lives against Hitler and Mussolini. In contrast, the Indian and the American people have always been friends. I believe that the will of the American people that India should be free had something to do with the fact that, today, India, without striking a blow, is one of the great free nations of the world after many years spent in subjugation to a foreign power.

India would prefer to pay for the wheat so necessary to preserve precious lives. Doubtless she and our State Department could agree on terms that would satisfy the pride of the Indians while, at the same time, assuring a small and ungenerous minority of Americans that we were not recklessly squandering our substance. However, it seems to me that the proposal of the State Department that this wheat be made a gift is in the American tradition. It should be an unconditional free gift. Unfortunately, there are mean-spirited Americans who want us to use this wheat, at a time of harrowing need, to coerce India into becoming a "me too" adherent of the United States in international affairs. They would barter American humanity for Indian honor.

India is too proud to traffic in her honor, even for food, without which many of her people will die. It is evidence of nobility in a people that they are willing to sacrifice their lives on the altar of national honor. If India is too proud to trade one iota of her independence and sovereignty for two million tons of wheat, Americans should be too proud to accept, let alone demand, such a surrender. Our statesmen underestimate the magnanimity and belittle the generosity of spirit of their own people when they churlishly haggle about the terms on which this wheat might be made available. It should be a generously bestowed gift, without the exaction of any terms or the hope of any tangible return.

It is true that, according to the Department of Agriculture, America's wheat crop may be short this year but we have a large surplus that we have been building up over the years. Our generosity is nothing to boast about if it merely bestows that of which we have so much that we do not know what to do with it. Christian sympathy should prompt us to share what we have with our friends who are in dire need, even if we run the risk of having to tighten our ample belts.

"Virginian," in an understandably anonymous letter printed in the Washington *Post* on April 11, unfeelingly declared that "Uncle Sam's mission in life is not to support his neighbors in the style to which they are not accustomed," adding, sneeringly, "the proverb about God helping those who help themselves ought to be more widely publicized." Shame on such utterances as these!

The people of India did not bring upon themselves drought and flood and shattering earthquake. They did not loose upon their crops a plague of locusts. Perhaps He permitted these calamities in order to test the Christian virtue of "Virginian" and others of his ilk.

The Rules Committee of the House is holding up the legislation necessary to send aid to our friends in India. The Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate has been so slow even to consider this legislation that it has become suspect of a wish to sabotage it. The heads of Americans will hang in shame for all time to come if they fail to go as quickly as possible to the aid of a people in distress whom we have pretended to befriend in the past on occasions that were not, as is the one today, a matter of life, of a lingering, anguished death.

Let us give. Let us give promptly. Let us give generously and freely. Let us give as Americans.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

CONTINUOUS CREATION AND THE EDGE OF SPACE

by Sir George P. Thomson

PROBABLY every physicist would believe in a creation if the Bible had not unfortunately said something about it many years ago and made it seem old-fashioned. The evidence is very strong and even the date can be assigned with reasonable accuracy. Mr. Hoyle, who tells us that he does not believe in the Bible, has modified Genesis by dispensing with the day of rest. He believes that creation is a continuing process and is still going on throughout space. His book is a popular statement of the conclusions of a group of theoretical astronomers working at Cambridge, England, of whom Mr. Hoyle is the best known. By his successful broadcasts last year, on which this book is based, Mr. Hoyle, in a few days, found himself acclaimed to the position which has been vacant since the deaths of Eddington and Jeans —that of interpreter of astronomy to the British public. Other professional astronomers sometimes disagree with his conclusions, but no one can doubt his ability to explain in lucid and vivid phrases the consequences of extremely abstruse mathematical theories and to make them live for the average man.

THE NATURE OF THE UNIVERSE, by Fred Hoyle (Harper; $2.50).

Not all of the book, of course, is concerned with the special theories which Mr. Hoyle and his group have put forward. Much of it is taken up with common knowledge generally accepted, for example the work of Bethe of Cornell on the way in which the sun keeps hot by using the atomic energy released in transforming its hydrogen into helium. There are three major points in which he differs from previously accepted views: the growth of a star by accretion of interstellar matter by a mechanism he calls "tunneling"; his theory of the origin of planets; and his theory of continuous creation of matter.

The first two chapters of the book are mostly occupied with a description of the present views as to the nature of the planets and the sun. Eddington's dynamical theory of the interior of stars still holds, and provides a satisfactory framework into which Bethe's theory can be fitted. This is taken to account for the run-of-the-mine stars—the so-called main sequence. They are stars which are burning up their hydrogen—of which they were at first composed to the extent of at least 90 percent—and turning it into helium. As the process proceeds and the hydrogen is burned up, the star rather curiously gets hotter and probably swells. Hoyle thinks the earth will end by being engulfed in such an expanded sun.

But it is the beginning rather than the end of the earth on which Hoyle has the more original ideas. He supposes, like Jeans, that the stars of the Milky Way, including the sun, arise from condensation in an unstable disc of gas forming the primitive galaxy. He describes the tunneling process as one whereby a star once formed could grow by sucking up interstellar matter, rather like a gigantic vacuum-cleaner advancing through space. The slower-moving stars would have a great advantage in this and would grow to excessive size. Many stars are double, two suns relatively close together and revolving round each other. Hoyle believes the sun once had a companion which, to use a vulgar simile (not his), overate itself and burst into what is called a supernova. These are intensely bright new stars which seem to appear every two or three hundred years in the Milky Way and are seen even in the more distant galaxies.

One of the odd things about the planets, and particularly the smaller ones such as the earth, is that they contain so little of the hydrogen and helium which are the main constituent of the stars and are composed instead mostly of the heavier elements. The origin of these heavier elements is obscure. Hoyle gives reasons for believing that they are produced in the explosion of a supernova, and this is one of the strong points of the theory, but it is claimed by others that matter from such an explosion would be lost by evaporation before it could condense.

Hoyle's greatest novelty is his belief in continuous creation. Experiments with giant telescopes at Mount Wilson and elsewhere show that our galaxy, though rather unusually large, is only one of many. More surprisingly, these other island universes—and there are at least a hundred million of them—appear to be receding from us and the farther away they are the faster they go. This recession is generally supposed to be connected with relativity and the curvature of space, but just how it fits is still an open question. It looks as though they will have disappeared over the edge of space, so to speak, in a time less than the probable life of our sun.

In recent years many astronomers have been tempted to believe that the entire universe is uniform in its broadest outline and would look much the same to an astronomer in a distant galaxy as it does to them. Indeed, E. A. Milne, a mathematician of great originality who died last year, erected this into a fundamental principle. I find it a little hard to see why this should be so, since on all but the very largest scale it is palpably untrue, but it is the kind of generality that has often proved fruitful in science and it has a certain esthetic attraction.

Put briefly, Hoyle extends this supposed uniformity in space to one in time by imagining the continuous creation of matter in the form of hydrogen throughout space. This would in time condense to form fresh galaxies of stars to take the place of those which may have disappeared over the edge of space. The amount required may not seem

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large, about one atom in a cathedral per year, but it adds up in intergalactic space.

This is not the only possible theory of the creation of matter. Gamow of George Washington University believes it took place once for all—apart from minor adjustments — in about twenty minutes, and in this way accounts for the relative abundance of the elements. I confess that I am more attracted by this view, partly because being a physicist and not an astronomer I can appreciate his arguments better than those of Hoyle, but also more on esthetic grounds. Physicists, like other people, are divided between—those who prefer the dramatic and those who feel more strongly the cyclic rhythm of nature.

Whatever their authors may say, there is a large element of the speculative about all theories which deal with times and distances far removed from our own, so the kind of hunch I have called esthetic is not so irrelevant as the layman might suppose. The mathematical working out of a theory, when it is successful brings conviction which is hard to resist even for those most severe toward the children of their minds, but history shows that the most convincing theories sometimes have to be abandoned. Theories of cosmogony usually rest on the laws of physics as discovered in the laboratory and known at the time of the theory. Fresh discoveries in the laboratory can destroy their logical basis. Lord Kelvin in the nineteenth century reached conclusions on the age of the earth, based on its cooling, which were completely upset when radioactivity was discovered and it became clear that large amounts of heat were being produced in this way in the earth's crust. If one allows oneself to invent fresh laws, as Hoyle does with his continuous creation, the position is even less secure, for there are many ways of solving a chess problem if one is allowed to invent fresh moves for the pieces. Then, too, no theory is complete. It has to idealize and simplify by rejecting inessentials; otherwise the mathematics would become so complicated that no one could handle them. Much of a theoretical physicist's or astronomer's skill lies in knowing what can be rejected and what must be retained.

This is not meant as an attack on cosmological theories in general or on this book in particular. Far from it. Only by working out theories as Hoyle has done and giving their conclusions publicity can people see what the possibilities are. And only in this way can the unsound theories be eliminated and man arrive at a knowledge of the world, as surprising in its oddity as it is impressive for its size, in which he so strangely finds himself.

Sir George P. Thomson, professor of Physics at the Imperial College of Science and Technology since 1930, was awarded the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1937.

STALIN'S TASTE

TAMING OF THE ARTS, by Juri Jelagin. Translated by Nicholas Wreden (Dutton; $3.50).

"THE LAUNCHING of socialistic realism by the Stalinist government as the sole acceptable artistic style may well have been the most tragic event in the history of Russian culture." Juri Jelagin comes to this conclusion as a result of having witnessed the transformation during 1930-40 of all branches of Russian art into the Soviet art of socialist realism.

Jelagin's father was one of the distrusted "spetsy" engineers who died in a concentration camp. Nevertheless, with the help of the powerful Vakhtangov Theatre, whose music department he had joined in 1931, the author managed to regain his rights of citizenship and to become a member of the theatre's art conference. At the same time he studied violin at the Moscow State Conservatory, receiving his diploma in 1939. To escape being appointed head of the Music Department of the Tadzhik Soviet Socialist Republic, a purely administrative job, he went on a six months' concert tour to the Army of the Far East. Although he finally had to leave Moscow, he won his fight to remain a violinist.

The author tells of his encounters with Soviet art policy, which reflected the formation and evolution of Stalin's personal tastes and was determined by domestic and foreign political considerations. The process of Sovietization took place first in literature, next in the theatre, and—most recently—in music.

The great Moscow theatres were forced to produce plays depicting the official version of life in the Soviet Union—which had no relation to reality—where "Life is better. Life is gayer" (Stalin). Jelagin feels that if the government had confined its regimentation to content, the theatre could have maintained a relatively high level. But the problem of form was soon attacked. With the death of Stanislavsky in 1938 and Meyerhold's arrest and disappearance the following year, the conversion of the Soviet theatre to socialist realism was complete; what had been a great art became a mere craft.

> Dictatorship over content in art is destructive, but dictatorship over form is even more so. . . . It is bad enough when a good theatre is forced to produce an inferior play, but it is worse when it is forced to produce it in a certain way. It is bad enough when a composer is ordered to write a symphony on the theme of collectivization, but it is worse when he is ordered to do so in the style of Tchaikovski.

From 1938 to 1948 composers enjoyed a "musical NEP" because it had been decided to send their scores abroad as propaganda weapons. However, when Soviet politicians no longer cared about improving international relations, the unfinished task of establishing a dictatorship in the field of music was ruthlessly resumed. Soon even Shostakovich adjusted his creative work to the party line and wrote a "Cantata to Stalin's Reforestation Program" in the orthodox style of socialist realism.

Soviet writers, actors and musicians belong to the social elite. They lack no material comfort and receive high salaries, honorary titles and special privileges to make up for their loss of artistic freedom. But "they have made an unnatural pact, and they have to pay for it with their creative consciences and the prostitution of their talents."

Jelagin knew many of the artists of the Moscow musical and theatrical world during the thirties and he has written a fascinating book of recollections, objective and humorous. He is a musician who has known at first hand the tragic fate of art in the USSR, yet who can appreciate the amusing and

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the absurd. His style is vivid and his use of ridicule most effective. The translation is, on the whole, excellent.

Taming of the Arts ends with the thought that the great Russian musical works, exiled from their homeland, have migrated to this country, where they will enrich American culture. Juri Jelagin himself, now a member of the Houston Symphony Orchestra, is contributing to our musical life as well as to our understanding of Stalin's present policy in music. This policy is a duplicate of Hitler's. Its objectives are: "to arouse in the Soviet citizens a sense of superiority over the rest of the world and to destroy the humanitarian spirit within them." HARRIET BORLAND

Harriet Borland, the author of "Soviet Literary Theory and Practice During the First Five-Year Plan (1928-32)," works for the US Department of Defense.

NEIGHBORS IN UTOPIA

MEN OF GOOD HOPE: A STORY OF AMERICAN PROGRESSIVES, by Daniel Aaron (Oxford University Press; $4).

DANIEL AARON, in this readable account of the lives and works of notable American progressives, seeks to show the unity of ethic and outlook shared by such divergent men as Emerson and Henry George, Bellamy and Henry Demarest Lloyd, Veblen and Howells. He sees these writers, including Veblen underneath his protective coat of irony, as utopians with a hatred for the plutocratic culture and a profound faith in man (but without sentimentality about the proletariat). Though, with Bellamy, they might favor nationalization of industry and, with Veblen, have confidence in the ultimate good sense inculcated by machine process, they were all individualists, believing in privacy and the middle-class decencies in general. Aaron sketches their major views capably and concisely, and his contribution is a valuable one both when he deals with thinkers like Veblen, who are still remembered if not well understood, and with others like George and Theodore Parker, who have nearly disappeared from general circulation.

The books of these thinkers are of uneven interest to us today; as Aaron indicates, it is difficult to get excited about *Progress and Poverty* or Howell's reformist theories as expressed in his novels—only Veblen and, to a lesser degree Bellamy, still seem the source of disturbing or provocative thoughts about the economy. But the *lives* are perennially interesting; Aaron makes clear, for example, Howell's moral ambiguities: his admiration for the vulgar, virile capitalists whom at the same time he despised; and he presents Lloyd as an appealing, tragic precursor of later generations of self-spent reformers.

Aaron feels that the zeal and intelligence of these men have left contemporary progressives a resonant heritage of ideals and diagnosis, without, however, doing more in the political realm than lending material for oratory to the two Roosevelts and Wilson. Thus, he writes: "Henry Demarest Lloyd's *Wealth Against Commonwealth* is merely a dated tract to the casual student, but the Standard Oil Company remains."

The Standard Oil Company does not remain, but a congeries of firms; and in the light of the New Jersey one's sponsorship of art, the symphony, and the concept of business trusteeship rather than trustification, one can at least argue, as this reviewer would, that there has been a profound change in the climate of capitalism—in fact, a counter-reformation in part brought about by acceptance of many of the theses of the progressive and socialist critics. While it may irk the reformer that the counter-reformer steals his stuff, he should also be flattered, and not allow his anger at the theft to lead him to assume that the change in the face of the enemy is merely superficial. It may be that the relative sterility of twentieth-century progressivism on which Aaron comments (though he reserves special niches of praise for Herbert Croly and Morris Cohen) is connected with a failure to see that "capitalism" is no longer the enemy it once was, that totalitarianism is an infinitely more ferocious enemy, and that new diagnoses and newly relevant ideals—based in part, to be sure, on reinterpretation of the nineteenth-century ideals—are needed.

True, Aaron has a chapter on the theories of Brooks Adams, as one of TR's brain-trusters; he terms both Adams and Roosevelt "pseudo-progressives," noting that their hatred of businessmen which they shared with the earlier reformers was based on their Bismarckian effort to ready America for the world struggle for markets, resources and bases. Adams, with his belief in centralized, disinterested administration, may be thought of as a precursor of James Burnham and the geopoliticians; he is anything but utopian and it is a bit puzzling what lessons for liberals Aaron wants his readers to distill from this fascinating figure. Perhaps he wants to show some of the ways in which the anti-business impulse of the nineties splintered into either aristocratic (Adams) or "proletarian" (Dos Passos, Waldo Frank) contempt for the middle-class values altogether.

Indeed, implicitly throughout the book and explicitly in the final chapter, Aaron defends the middle class and its values against its (largely middle-class) opponents. He sees that the current avant-garde hostility to liberalism—the feeling that liberalism lacks "the tragic sense" and all that—is based partly on the outlook of disillusioned ex-Communists (who blame politics itself for their own earlier susceptibility to agit-prop) and partly on fallacious over-simplifications of what the nineteenth-century liberals stood for. Of course, save perhaps for Veblen, they did not foresee the organized and total depravity of which a collectivist society could become capable—but then this is still not understood today even by many who claim to be anti-Communist but who regard Communists as people striving for rational, if misguided, goals. What the nineteenth-century liberals did understand was that a good society was possible, and it is this understanding which, with the help of such of their heirs as Aaron, we need to recapture. For if our worst nightmares have, as I think, come true in the Nazi and Soviet systems, we must at all cost continue to have good daydreams and strive to make them come true.

DAVID RIESMAN

David Riesman, a professor of the Social Sciences at the University of Chicago, is the author of "The Lonely Crowd; A Study of the Changing American Character."

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THEATRE: Around "Night Music"

THERE ARE PEOPLE who don't seem able to enjoy a show unless they can define it. Is it really a "play," they ask, or what does it mean? We used to be able to define a play in academically acceptable terms, but in practice most of us are content to acknowledge as a play any dramatic presentation that interests an audience. All the rest is rationalization.

Nevertheless the question persists. As I think about it in the light of a rather wide theatregoing experience, I become aware that not only is the question determined by the epoch (there are plays which would have been unidentifiable as such even fifty years ago) but also it is often determined by nationality: the French, for example, are so entertained by witty dialogue and fine language generally that many French plays might be defined simply as a series of conversations spoken by actors on a stage.

These generalizations are inspired by the recent revival of Odets' "Night Music," a failure in 1940 and hardly more successful now. I directed the original production and defended it against an almost unanimously adverse press; I enjoyed it again as done by the young players whose Equity Library production the ANTA management took over. I am no longer interested in defending it, but in understanding why this play I like seems doomed to fail.

It is true that "Night Music" has hardly any plot, but the same may be said of the successful "Member of the Wedding." If, as someone has written, "Night Music" is chiefly an exercise in style, so is "The Lady's Not for Burning." If Odets' hero is a perpetual sorehead and thus "unsympathetic," how can we explain the success of plays whose central characters are positive horrors?

For a play to be successful, it seems to me, its basic premise (even when unstated) must be acceptable to a majority of the audience: its mood must correspond to something the audience feels or would like to have expressed. Odets' rebellious "Waiting for Lefty" was comparatively popular and approved of by even politically conservative critics because it was produced at a time when the play's protest found some echo in the most sedate heart. Christopher Fry's "Lady" is thematically defeatist, but its defeatism is glamorized by witty and elegant talk and its black thoughts are worn as a sort of elaborate decoration on the cuff. Sidney Kingsley's "Darkness at Noon" is brutal and synthetic—its theme, more appositely European than American, deals with a sincere revolutionist victimized and horrified by the results of a revolution that went wrong—but it is successful because the audience believes that it is an exposé of a hostile ideology.

"Night Music" is a lyric improvisation (a sort of dramatic *suite*) on the basic homelessness of the little man in the big city. It is charmingly sentimental, comically poetic, airy and wholly unpretentious. Its characters are as simple as those of a commedia dell' arte scenario, and its cutely obstreperous hero is a twentieth-century Pierrot—weeping, sighing, cursing and deeply tender and funny withal. There is no preachment—except on behalf of the most classic values and an almost old-fashioned, flag-waving Americanism. Yet the majority of our theatregoers (at Broadway prices) either do not recognize "Night Music" as a play or do not understand what it means.

The reason for this is that in it Odets takes for granted that we all recognize our homelessness, that we all believe the rootlessness and disorientation of his hero to be typical, that we all know that most of the slogans of our society are without substance in terms of our true emotions. In "Night Music" Odets is far more wistful than angry—indeed he kids his own impatient nature here—but no matter: the audience refuses to identify his homeless world as theirs. Hence they find no meaning in a play that is as clear and simple as a popular song and in writing and characterization very rich. The source of every dramatic idea is a community myth (a commonly held belief or sentiment) and "Night Music," though it is composed of the most ordinary notes, strikes chords in a disconcertingly eccentric scale.

HAROLD CLURMAN

ON THE AIR

Whither, Whither?

ON OPENING DAY of the major-league baseball season, I had a choice between watching the Yankees over either WABD or WPIX, with Mel Allen reporting, or shifting to WOR-TV, where Red Barber would interpret the Dodgers' play-by-play. But politics is in the air and I wanted to see a fat man with a cigar toss out the first ball. Roscoe McGowen's baseball story in the *Times* did not name the personage I might expect to see in the Yankee Stadium telecast. But Brooklyn's public relations were better. I was informed that, at Ebbets Field, Borough President John Cashmore would do the honors, and the matter was settled.

One reason for my interest in politics is that I'm hoping to meet on television the mayor of Hawkins Falls. I know his name: Franklin Gromley. I'm waiting for the day when Mayor Gromley will toss out the first television set.

Don't look for Hawkins Falls in your atlas. You'll find it only on television. NBC-TV is the spot on your dial, and the time—Monday through Friday—is 5 p.m., EST. The program goes by the name of "Hawkins Falls, pop. 6200." I know all about Hawkins Falls. Lever Brothers, the sponsor, has seen to that. The soap company managed things so that I have received two copies of a fat outline which gives the town's history, lists a formidable cast of characters and provides thumbnail sketches of the Falls' leading citizens. I'm willing to share all that vital information—keeping for myself only the shaving cream, toothpaste and other detergents sent along in the packages.

The names in the outline intrigue me. In addition to Mayor Gromley there are

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Orley Flenner, David Umbrecker, Cedric Puffner and the stars of the piece thus far, Knap Drewer and his wife Lona. Among the women is Belinda Catherwood, a lady bountiful and busybody. I'm looking forward to meeting Eva Cameron, listed as "ex-citizen . . . now famous character actress who retains homestead," and Willa Finch, owner of the local baby-wear shoppe.

I hissed Belinda Catherwood on her last appearance because she was sticking her nose into the Drewer household. These wonderful people—he is a chronic invalid, while Lona is a devoted wife-nurse—have acquired, since the show went on the air early in April, an orphan boy of seven or eight. It's obvious they're going to want to adopt the child, but Mrs. Catherwood's bright idea is to rotate him among various households so that the community may "share the burden" of caring for him.

As I said, I'm willing to share my Hawkins Falls library. I'll donate my second copy of the Lever Brothers dossier to the reader who sends in the best letter, answering in no more than 25 words the question, "Why Television?" Don't waste your time writing that TV is for the purpose of watching democracy at work. Despite the recent Kefauver spectacle, that notion will get you nowhere because, for one reason, Congress will not let itself be telecast—except when General MacArthur addresses a joint session.

In New York there was a red-hot hearing the other day on the subject of raising the city's sales tax from two to three percent. TV time and facilities were offered but Mayor Impellitteri and his followers feared that an already irritated citizenry might blow its top if it were permitted to witness this new attack on its pocketbook; presumably, democracy is to be assisted by television in New York only in matters of no immediate concern to the taxpayers. Meanwhile, the House Un-American Activities Committee is rumored to be moving to New York, where maximum television coverage can be obtained. Congressmen never object to being seen in the act of pouncing on a suspected subversive; it is too bad they are so shy about their routine legislative duties.

All contests should have a time limit, but I'll be generous in this respect. Participants need not compose their statements until after May 6. That will give them a chance to attend the 21st annual conclave of the Institute for Education by Radio (when is "television" going to be added to that title?) which meets for four days, opening May 3, as usual at Columbus under the auspices of Ohio State University. You don't have to be in broadcasting—you need not be in anything specific—to qualify for attendance. As in other years, network presidents and chairmen of the board will stay away in droves; so the public might as well pile in.

Scheduled for the Institute, among other topics, is a discussion of television and education by Telford Taylor, counsel for the Joint Committee on Educational Television, and Robert Saudek, vice-president of the American Broadcasting Company. I heard that debate once. Saudek's presentation is clever, brilliantly composed, biting, and comforting to the commercial side of broadcasting. It also seems to me largely irrelevant, for it devotes itself to describing how much a conscientious vice-president in charge of public affairs can do on television and ignores the point that a competent educator might do considerably more.

Let the ballpoint pens fly, and let's have lively participation in this contest. If you need further guidance, here is a bit of help from a speech delivered recently by George E. Sterling, a Federal Communications Commissioner whom I rarely quote. He was in Portland, Maine, for the twenty-fifth anniversary of "the first Radio Parish Church of America," which broadcasts over Portland's WCSH. Commissioner Sterling said he had noted in recent years "a remarkable upsurge in religion," and expressed the belief that American radio can claim much of the credit for this "awakening." "It is clear," said he, with what struck me as commendable candor, "that American radio is doing its part to give real meaning to the motto 'In God We Trust'."

SAUL CARSON

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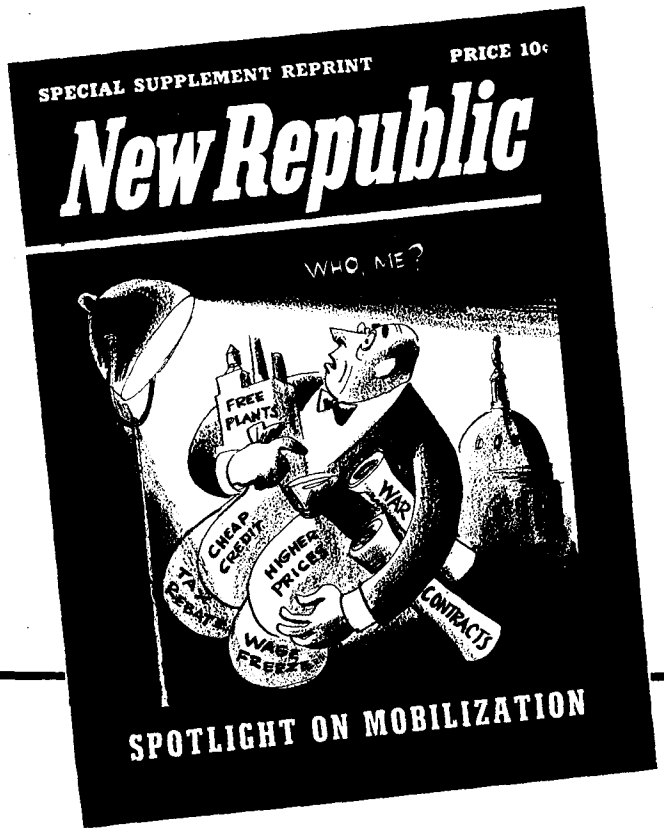

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